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Christianity are presented in a way likely to impress an intelligent mind. Byron had no arguments to bring against Christianity; his prejudice against it was founded principally upon the faults of Christians, their superstition, their want of charity, and other abuses which are acknowledged to exist in the Christian world. He had no patience therefore to listen to a discussion, which did not approach the subjects that interested him; and such, we fear, will be the feeling of most of those for whose benefit this work was intended. They will not read labored arguments in proof of what they never seriously doubted, and they will look in vain through this work to find the grounds of their prejudices explained away. It is but just, however, to say that since the death of Dr. Kennedy, who did not live to publish this work, one of the persons who had attended his conversations without conviction, wrote to the Editor, that Lord Byron held Dr. Kennedy in the highest respect; and that he was so gentle, patient and kind, so earnest to secure the happiness of others, and so sincere in his belief and practice, that no one could help regarding the man with respect and attachment, and feeling grateful for his exertions to induce others to embrace that faith, which had so happy an effect on his own heart.

ART. VII.—*Temperance.*

The Reports of the American Temperance Society, and of the New York State Temperance Society.

We confess we were, for some time, among those, who doubted the possibility of effecting much good, through the agency of temperance societies. There was a seeming disproportion between the magnitude of the evil and the insignificance of the means employed to stem it. It was proposed, by the mere dint of reason, on the part of benevolent individuals, unaided by the power of the State, and at first without a very strong co-operation of public sentiment, to enter the field against one of the strongest of the physical appetites, as indulged to a great degree by that class of the community, least accessible, in all respects, to the force of reason and argument. Without allowing sufficiently for the power of the social prin-

ciple,—without foreseeing the thousand modes in which with a most heavenly ingenuity it has been applied in this blessed cause,—we were too ready to reason from the difficulty of reclaiming the victim of intemperance in single instances to the impossibility of effecting a great comprehensive reform. We confess our error, and make it a duty to atone for it, in the only way in our power, by contributing our mite to second the efforts of the meritorious men, who earlier caught a glimpse of the practicability of this great enterprise of human improvement, and, with untiring industry and enlightened zeal, have pushed it forward to its present most gratifying and auspicious state.

Among the local associations, which have been formed for this work of humanity and love, we believe that it is generally admitted that the New York State Temperance Society has been perhaps the most fortunate in its organization, in its administration, and in its results. Its first annual report was presented to the Society by its Executive Committee in January, 1830 ; and on the 1st of September of the year just expired, there had been formed, under its auspices, the astonishing number of one thousand one hundred and fifty-eight auxiliary societies, in the State of New York, with one hundred and sixty-one thousand, seven hundred and twenty-one members ; being at least one in thirteen of the entire population of that State. During the past year, the New York State Temperance Society has added to its other means of impressing the public mind, and carrying on the noble work in which it has engaged, the publication of the *Temperance Recorder*, a monthly sheet of eight pages, exclusively devoted to this subject, furnished for fifty cents *per annum* to subscribers, but gratuitously distributed to a prodigious extent, by the munificence of individuals. While the political journals of the country have been carrying fierce controversy, detraction, and the aliment of almost all the bad passions, far and wide through the land, this modest sheet has been unobtrusively winning its way, upon its errand of social charity, and doing much to make atonement for the corruptions of the political press. It cannot be doubted, that such a vehicle will prove the means of carrying the principle of the temperance reform to many an individual, beyond the reach of the more elaborate publications. The thanks of the community are richly due to the Executive Committee of the New York State Temperance Society, for

the establishment of this little journal, and all their other judicious, untiring, and disinterested labors in the cause ;* and we trust we do not offend against the delicacy, which forbids comparisons where many have deserved so well, when we say, that we believe that as much, probably more, has been done by the amiable chairman of that Committee, E. C. Delavan, Esq. of Albany, in promoting this noble work, than by any other individual in the country. Ages may pass away, and mighty revolutions in human affairs take place, without presenting the recurrence of a juncture of things, by which so much real, solid good can be done to man,—body and soul, for time and for eternity,—as has been done by these temperance associations, and especially the New York State Temperance Society, and those who have performed the work in these admirable institutions.

It was really high time, that this tremendous evil should be taken in hand. The discoveries made by modern travellers and navigators have brought us acquainted with several most degraded tribes of the human family. To say nothing of some of the natives of our own forests, who wander almost naked over the interior *steppes* of the continent or the north-western coast, who eat dogs' flesh and rank blubber,—we have accounts of some of the tribes of Southern Africa and of the Australian Islands, which cannot be read without nausea and horror. But suppose a navigator should come home and tell us, that he had discovered a new island in the Pacific Ocean, extensive, naturally fertile, blessed with all the bounties of nature,—happy climate, agreeable diversity of surface, accessible shores,—navigable rivers,—forests,—hills and valleys,—and ample supply of all the productions of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, which are useful, agreeable and necessary to man. But instead of man himself, as he exists even in the most degenerate forms of humanity,—the filthy Hottentot, or the cannibal warrior of New Zealand,—in whom the vices and the sufferings of savage life are mixed up with some of its stoical virtues, and the exercise of the natural faculties of our race, according to their (most

* Chancellor Walworth is President of the New York State Temperance Society, and the Executive Committee consists of E. C. Delavan, John F. Bacon, John T. Norton, H. Trowbridge, Richard V. De Witt, A. Campbell, and Joshua A. Burke.

depraved it is true,) notions of what is right, useful and honorable,—suppose our navigator should tell us, that this region was (not inhabited, but) infested with a most anomalous order of beings, wearing somewhat of the externals of our humanity, but strangely travestied, brutified, and demonized. Thus, suppose he should say, that this island was cumbered with three hundred thousand of these beings, whose limbs, it is true, resemble ours, but in which the muscles yield no obedience to the will, so that the hands, instead of the grasp of steel possessed by the wildest savage, feebly close on their object, with a paralytic inefficient hold ;—and that when the poor being is fain to change his place, instead of planting his feet firmly on the ground, he can but reel forward a step or two, till he falls miserably prostrate. Suppose the features of his countenance, instead of being merely tatooed, (in doing which the curious skill and regularity of the process do a little to relieve its hideousness,) should seem wholly to have exchanged the variable hue and the curiously elastic texture of the human skin and integuments, for a kind of confluent leprous sheath, loathsome to behold, insensible to all agreeable impression, and living only to smart. Suppose the eye,—which nothing in mere savage manners robs of its lustre,—to be described in this degraded race as uniformly suffused with blood, or quenched in maudlin idiotic tears. Suppose the great organic functions of the frame, respiration, and digestion,—in the place of those natural processes, whose orderly co-existence and operation make up what we call *health*,—should be one unbroken succession of all that it is revolting to witness and agonizing and nauseous to suffer ; so that food shall be but as physic in the stomach, and the blessed air of heaven be returned as a fetid pestilence from the lungs. Suppose that the intellectual, the social, and the moral condition of these beings should be described as on a level with their physical degradation, that they should pass their wretched lives a prey to the worst passions, strangers to all the endearments of our nature,—perpetrating inhuman and brutal violences on each other,—ignorant of any language but that of oaths, execrations, and blasphemies ; frequently murdering each other with clubs, knives, and firebrands ; and when their horrid existence closes, dying in agonies and despair.

Suppose this were the account brought home by the navigator. What would be thought of it? That he had been guilty of an outrageous libel on humanity, if indeed beings

like these would be considered as belonging to our race ; that he had contrived a senseless, because an extravagant and impossible, fiction ;—that he had represented beings that could not exist ; and which none but a depraved fancy would imagine.

What then, if we should say, that, with a slight change in the locality, this monstrous, revolting and impossible fiction is a chapter of authentic geography ? *The being we describe is the confirmed, habitual drunkard* ;—and all can judge whether we have too highly colored the picture. There exist, by the best calculations which can be made, more than three hundred thousand drunkards, not herded together in one island, it is true, but scattered over the face of the United States at the present moment ; and there are no doubt as many more, for every twelve or thirteen millions of population, in Great Britain and the North and West of the continent of Europe. Such a race, then, as we have attempted to sketch, is not reported by returning navigators, to exist in some newly-discovered and benighted islands never trod by the foot of civilized man ; and unapproached by the heralds of gospel truth. No ; it exists in our own beloved, free, enlightened country. It is estimated by Judge Cranch, of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, upon as good data as the nature of the case admits, that, in addition to 375,000 persons, who, upon an average, drink daily three gills of ardent spirits, and are in consequence, occasionally drunk, there are 375,000 more, who daily drink more than six gills per diem, and are confirmed drunkards. This is one for every thirty-two, in a population of twelve millions ! This loathsome and wretched race is therefore actually in existence within our borders.

But they are unfortunately not concentrated in one spot, where they might be beheld at a distance, an afflictive but salutary spectacle. They are scattered all over the land. In other words, every thirty-two individuals of the United States have quartered upon them one of this degraded race. What should we think, were it made necessary, by some strange political state of things, that every thirty-two people of our twelve millions should have quartered upon them a savage from Nootka Sound, or a cannibal from the South Sea,—whom they were obliged to feed, clothe, furnish with the means of keeping up his calamitous existence, and whom they must tolerate before their eyes ?

But this last a civilized people would never do. If compelled to bear these beings among them, and if it were absolutely impossible to make them labor as slaves in the field, they would be secluded in remote prisons,—pent up in hospitals, concealed from the sight of man. But not so with the actually existing tribe of the drunkards. They partake the liberty of the land, walk our streets and inhabit our dwellings, sit down by our fire-sides and share our beds. The moral contagion, which makes them what they are, selects its victims promiscuously in society ; and the individuals of this degraded race, instead of being placed like distant hordes of savages, almost without the pale of human sympathy, stand connected with the rest of the community, by all the ties of neighborhood and kin. The mind toils for images and language fails in terms, to set forth all the disastrous consequences of a state of things like this.

To this state of things the benevolence of the day, and first and most successfully in our own country, has been exerted to put an end :—to exterminate this degraded race of beings, not by violence and bloodshed, but by the mild conquest of humanity and love :—to exterminate the vices, which make them what they are ; to regenerate their corrupted nature ; to infuse health into the burning veins ; to bring them back to the possession and the sense of character ; to stop the wild flood of domestic misery, which they bring on all around them ; and where this cannot be done, to arrest at least the contagion of their example. Wonderful success has attended this heavenly work ; but great are the obstacles which oppose it. It will still require time, patience, labor, zeal, and money ; and, to a certain extent, will perhaps become of necessity *a standing duty of good men* ;—a work, however successful, which must be always doing, and never wholly done.

A part of the difficulty to be overcome,—a great part,—is in the appetite which seems to be *innate*, (or, which comes to the same thing, to be almost *sure to be acquired* when not counter-vented by the gratification of better tastes or by moral means,) for spirituous liquors. In addition to this, there is the sort of secondary attraction, which, in many cases, becomes perhaps the immediate cause of forming intemperate habits,—that intoxicating liquors, in moderate quantities, are thought to furnish a solace for trouble and a refuge from painful thoughts. In this way intemperance comes to be the immediate agent of

the evils, which flow from almost every other source. All the operative causes of moral corruption, in one stage or another, connect themselves with it. Some philosophers think that matter itself tends to evil; and trace moral degeneracy to the indolent and gravitating nature of our material frames. Whatever be thought of this, as a proposition in metaphysics; it is undeniable, that intemperance is one of the surest attendants of a depraved sensual nature;—the companion and stimulus of all other sensual vices. It is most commonly by this immediate agency, that character declines and is ruined; that the once wealthy proprietor passes through the melancholy gradation of mortgage, debt, the prison or the almshouse;—that lawless excess alarms the silence of midnight with riots and revel;—that the wards of the hospital are crowded, and the bills of mortality swelled. So that if this agency could be wholly restrained and cut off, almost every other source and cause of moral decline would lose its destructive power. Were there no intoxicating substances in the world, it would seem that physical appetite, that violent passions, that the extravagant taste for association in what is called pleasure, that poverty and all the forms of misfortune, which now, by means of this agent, break down the character, would be rendered comparatively inoperative. A very large portion of murders and all other crimes are committed by drunkards, or in moments of drunkenness,—and would not probably have been committed by their perpetrators, had they been habitually temperate or sober at the time. But this very circumstance, that intemperance is not an isolated thing, but the natural and intimate ally of every other agent of depravity, the reacting cause and consequence of almost every thing else that is evil, will obviously increase the difficulty of eradicating it.

Well would it be, if we could stop here. But it is not the least of the difficulties to be contended with, that this foe to social welfare presents itself, on many occasions, in an inviting and a seemingly innocent form. At the social meeting, the cheerful cup is presented as the source or the pledge of hilarity. When we are dejected, we resort to it, to cheer the drooping mind. Are we fatigued, it has been thought (though erroneously) to restore the strength; and it is often given to the sick as a medicine. Such in a proper application no doubt

it is, and its excessive and criminal use commences frequently in *some* of these innocent forms.

This must teach us, while it increases the difficulty of the work to be done, to temper our zeal with a shade of Christian charity. The intemperance which stares us in the face in the streets, which haunts the centre of our villages, and fills our infirmaries, almshouses, and penitentiaries, was perhaps, in many cases, the symptom of a different moral disease. That poverty,—often entailed upon its victims without crime,—which sinks them below the operation of generous motives, leaving the heart uninfluenced by the love of reputation or the fear of shame, betrays them to the few pleasures (as they deem them) within their reach; and this excitement is the chiefest. That station in life, which condemns men to unremitted labor of an unhealthy or odious character, which requires them to disregard the elements, to stand in the mud and water, or brave the fury of tempests on the top-mast;—sorts of labor which, in their nature, seem scarcely to admit that gradual emancipation and advancement, which,—especially in our happy country,—easily take place in many of what may otherwise be considered very low callings in life:—these seem to furnish some palliation for the crime of indulgence, which stands in lieu of all the innocent recreations and salutary refreshments. All those unhappy persons who, by the thousand vicissitudes of a large and prosperous community in its present highly artificial state, are condemned to subsist on a small quantity of solid food, neither nutritious in its quality nor savory in its form, take a deceitful refuge in strong liquor, for that excitement which nature craves, and which others find in a sufficiency of wholesome well prepared food. All these things must be charitably remembered by those, who, in the possession of competence and even wealth, have access to a thousand pleasures and diversions,—who have comfortable abodes, where neither summer's heat nor winter's cold puts the fainting or the shrinking frame to its proof,—and where they enjoy the blessings of a bountiful table, a happy fireside with its interests, amusements, and duties,—the intercourse of neighbors and friends, to fill up a vacant hour, and the resource of books to occupy the mind; and thus call in the intellectual energy as a balance for the bodily appetite. Such persons will never be the most severe in condemning the indulgences, (however criminal and pernicious) of him, who is driven into

vice over the thorny path of want. They will not expect such an one to practise more philosophy and self-command at the wheelbarrow or in the dock, than many persons can command in the most eligible conditions of society.

These considerations show that all measures for suppressing intemperance must be accompanied with other measures, adapted to improve the condition of those classes, which furnish the greatest numbers of its victims. We do not mean, that the temperance societies should charge themselves with the promotion of any other object as subsidiary to their main design. On the contrary, in the great and beneficent division of moral as well as mechanical labor, which exists in modern society, every thing is done more zealously and effectively when it is done by itself, not in a spirit of jealous exclusion, but of concentrated attention. It is enough for the temperance societies to pursue, in all appropriate ways, the direct object, the suppression of the consumption of ardent spirits; to attack the foe at the source and at the mouth; in the distillery, the licensed dram-shop, the booth, the tavern, the bar-room of the steam-boat, the social table, the feast, and the apothecary's shop; wherever the thing is made, distributed, or used. With what success this warfare has been waged, need not further be stated. But to carry on and perfect the good work, additional influences are needed; and these also, for the honor of the age, and the present and eternal good of their subjects, have been most diffusively brought into action. We may perhaps with advantage make an allusion to some of the most considerable.

One of them is the savings banks. By these institutions the earnings of the poor are saved from the extreme risk of being squandered in excess, as soon as realized. These most admirable establishments have been hitherto almost exclusively confined to large towns and their neighborhoods. The interior of the country has not enjoyed their benefits. A system of branches or agencies, throughout the country, devised with a proper accountability, by which these benefits could be more widely diffused, would be of incalculable service. But even as it is, of the two millions of dollars now on deposit in the savings banks of Massachusetts, there is little doubt, but the half would have been wasted and worse than wasted, in the purchase of spirituous liquors.

The general diffusion of the means of education, as having

the direct effect of bettering the condition of the poor, is another powerful auxiliary to the temperance society. Whether abject poverty, misfortune, or idleness be the occasion of contracting habits of intemperance, the possession of the elementary knowledge acquired at our schools has an unquestioned protective tendency. If the victims of habitual intemperance could be divided into two classes, in reference to this point, we have no doubt the proportion would be greatly in favor of those, who had been within the reach of the means of education and availed themselves of those means. In addition to this, as the temperance reform is in a great degree to be carried on by moral suasion ;—by appeals made to the understanding and the heart ;—those who are unable to read are almost inaccessible to its approaches.

The popular institutions, for the promotion of useful knowledge, which under various names have been considerably multiplied of late years, are a valuable auxiliary in the cause ; and might probably be made more so. The time for which they provide an innocent, if not a useful occupation, is unquestionably much of it redeemed from dissipation and criminal indulgence. We have heard the remark made, by persons in a condition to observe the fact, that since the establishment of the several associations in Boston for the above named objects, —associations which now provide for the delivery of a lecture on some useful or entertaining subject almost every evening in the week,—the resort to places of dissipation has sensibly diminished. This consideration will furnish all benevolent persons, and particularly all parents, with the most powerful reasons for doing every thing in their power, to make these associations attractive to the public. It deserves consideration whether something more systematic cannot be done ;—whether the efforts of the five or six different associations would not be rendered more effective, by being concentrated under the auspices of an institution. The public spirit of self-constituted committees, however praiseworthy the zeal which they have evinced, is not a principle sufficiently permanent, in its nature, to be safely relied on. The experience of the last five years has shown the prodigious appetite for useful knowledge, that exists among a class of the community, who before had scarce any means of gratifying it ; but we apprehend, that without some change of plan, the supply of lecturers may be attended with difficulty, and that the instruction imparted will, from the ne-

cessity of the case, become too desultory and disconnected, to be very valuable and (what will be the result) very permanently attractive. But we have wandered a little from the matter in hand.

It would be highly improper to omit among the great auxiliaries to the progress of temperance the influence of all the means of religious improvement; though we are at a loss whether these should be mentioned, in this connexion, more as cause or as effect. As habitual intemperance and a strong religious sense are wholly inconsistent with each other, the temperance reformation is most emphatically a *præparatio evangelii*; while all the means, agents, offices, and ordinances of religion seem marked out, by a peculiar aptitude, as auxiliaries in the cause of temperance. And in proportion to the subtle and insidious character of the foe to be combated is the want of that *principle of thoroughness*, which the religious sense, and that alone, imparts to the efforts of duty. Interest, prudence, health, decorum teach men to use in moderation, shunning abuse. But religion scorns all easy compromises, and enjoins entire abstinence.

In enumerating these auxiliaries, in the work of the temperance reform, it will occur to the reader that we speak of society as it exists. But it is impossible, in reference to this and some other very interesting topics, to suppress the inquiry, *whether our social system cannot be greatly amended?* We do not need the passionate and extravagant declamations of the teachers of a new school of social and political law among us, to awaken serious doubts, whether something *cannot* be done, and if so, most imperatively, *ought not* to be done, materially to equalize the blessings of life, with a view to the diminution of the suffering and crime, which unquestionably flow from the existing inequality. In our political system, as compared with those of Europe, we have made a vast stride, in equalizing the social powers and rights of the citizens; and this *first* step was perhaps the *hardest* to take. But it presents itself to us as a matter of grave consideration, whether this step can, even with a common regard to safety, remain the *only* one, in the work of equalization. What will be the effect of it on our condition, if it is to be accompanied by the present enormous inequality in knowledge, and property and morals? Whoever would resolve the problem, in what way a reform could be made in this respect, under the auspices of justice,

reason, and religion, (without which it would be no reform) would render a service to mankind, of which words cannot describe the value.

Our object in submitting these few and desultory remarks to our readers upon the subject of temperance, does not require us to enter into the detail of the operations of any of the temperance societies. Their several reports,—as well that of the American Temperance Society, as of the various State and auxiliary institutions,—are before the public, and have received no small share of the attention of benevolent men. We cannot, however, deny ourselves the gratification of transferring to our pages, the closing remarks of the third Annual Report of the New York Temperance Society.

‘In closing their third annual report, the Executive Committee would acknowledge the goodness of the Lord in preserving their lives, and permitting them to labor for the cause of temperance another year. It is a happy employment that Providence has assigned them; for, as the good which it yields is boundless, so there are no limits to “the luxury of doing” it. But, thankful as the Committee should be, that the work of their hands, which the Lord has so signally prospered, is one that returns so much happiness into their own bosoms; yet have they far more abundant cause for gratitude in the rich and wide-spread blessings of that work upon their fellow-men.

A brief review of the progress of the temperance reformation among our countrymen, and of the miseries and dangers from which it is rescuing them, may not be out of place in these remarks. The prudent mariner does not forget the reef on which he was well nigh wrecked: but, for his future safety, he both remembers it, and how he avoided it. Much less does he forget his perils, when he is but just beginning to escape from them. And how unspeakably important is it, that the people of this State, and of the United States, should frequently look back and survey the wide dimensions and horrid features of that giant evil; of that Apollyon among earthly woes; to whose yearly widening desolations the discoveries of ages after ages had opposed no effectual resistance! And the only means too that have been successful toward redeeming the unequalled blessings of our “goodly heritage” from the ruin with which they were threatened. How much does it become us to dwell upon the value of those means, and thus to deepen the gratitude of our hearts for the merciful Providence which directed us to them; and thus invigorate our determination never to abandon the

use of them, until our beloved land shall be relieved of the miseries of the vice of intemperance ! Nor have we yet gained such decided advantages over our great enemy, as to make it safe for us to forget our danger, and to forget our only security, and to abandon ourselves to the joys and carelessness of a perfect victory.

Origin of the Reformation.

It is but some five or six years, since a few individuals in the State of Massachusetts entered into an association for the purpose of sustaining and extending the principle of total abstinence from ardent spirits. From this humble beginning arose that mighty reformation, which, rapidly carrying its triumphs into every part of our country, is already seen opening its sources of consolation and scattering its bright and blessed hopes in various other portions of the world. This unparalleled instance of success is owing to two causes, which it is very important that the public mind should distinctly perceive. The first is, that, in adopting total abstinence, the right and the only right principle was taken up ; and the other is, that, in organizing a society, the indispensable plan for giving efficacy and extensive operation to this principle was adopted.

That total abstinence is the principle to employ against the vice of intemperance is evident, as well from the deductions of reason, as from the success attending its adoption. The drunkard surely cannot fail to aggravate his disease by continuing to use what produced it : and as to others, they only are out of the pathway to drunkenness who wholly abstain from ardent spirits ; for not only is the drinking of spirits, from its most moderate beginnings to its most shocking excesses, that pathway ; but it is exclusively so. Not only has every drunkard trodden it, but this way, the entrance to which is made so attractive by the many respectable and temperate drinking travellers in it, is the only one, in which any person can become a drunkard. The principle of total abstinence, in its bearing upon society at large, is seen to be the happily chosen principle to oppose to the progress of intemperance. The practice of drinking spirits is the medium by which this vice is communicated ; while, on the contrary, total abstinence insulates the vice, and leaves nothing around it capable of transmitting its contagion. When a raging fire has become irresistible, and threatens the destruction of the city, buildings are often purposely demolished, to make a space over which the flames cannot leap : and, as this space saves the city, so does the space, which total abstinence creates between the sound and the diseased, "between the living and the dead," provide safety for them, who might else have been food for the pestilence.

Nor is it more true that total abstinence is the proper and indispensable principle to employ in promoting the cause of temperance, than it is that it would be utterly inefficacious, were it not taken up and carried forward by temperance associations. There had always been individuals in our country living upon this principle; but their examples and efforts availed nothing, because they were isolated. Some of these individuals were amongst our most distinguished men; and yet the illustration of the blessings of the principle in their own healthful and happy abstemiousness was unheeded, and their appeals to the public mind were powerless; and all this because their influence was not united. Besides, before the existence of temperance associations, he who would have served the cause of temperance, needed a rare courage to impel him to a single-hand attack upon the community. Happy indeed, if, in such case, he had firmness enough to adhere to the cause himself, and not to fall back into the stream of universal custom. But now, when he looks around him upon the hundreds of thousands that are associated with him, he feels that "they that be with us are more than they that be with them," and he is emboldened to put forth all his exertions in the cause he loves, and is no longer afraid to serve. And when we consider the omnipotence of public opinion, in this land of free institutions, and how it is concentrated in these temperance associations, we are not left to wonder that they should exert such mighty and almost remodeling influences upon society. No sumptuary laws could have such force, as has this embodied public opinion: and hence we would admonish the friends of temperance to continue to confine their efforts within the limits of persuasion; to aim in all their measures to carry public opinion along with them, and never to have recourse to any means that may savor of coercion.

Extent and success of the undertaking.

Although to the superficial observer, and even to the public generally, the plan of the temperance reformation seemed, at first, to be ludicrously inadequate to the accomplishment of its vast object; yet our brief examination of it shows us its wisdom, and precludes astonishment at the great success of the efforts that have been made upon it. When, however, this plan is viewed in connexion with its success, where is the benevolent and candid man that can withhold his cordial assent from it, and refuse to enter into the great association for sustaining and extending the principle of total abstinence?

When the temperance reformation began, there were in this nation not less than from 3 to 4,000,000 of drinkers of spirit; and, as not less than one in ten of all those among us, who take

up the fearful practice of drinking spirit become intemperate, so there were in this nation at that time from 3 to 400,000 drunkards. The plague of intemperance was in all the land : it was fast coming up into all our dwellings : we were emphatically a nation of drunkards. Nothing could stay its progress, until the hitherto undiscovered power of total abstinence was brought out against it. And now that power is to be seen in the fact that not less than one-fourth of the families in the nation, and probably one half of them in our State, have secured themselves on the principle of total abstinence against the woes of intemperance. And it is seen too in the fact that, together with a constant reduction in the manufacture of domestic spirits, the importation of foreign distilled liquors into the great emporium of our nation, has fallen off at the rate of one-fifth annually, during the progress of the reformation. It is seen too, in the facts with which all of us are familiar, that a considerable portion of the venders of ardent spirits have abandoned the traffic, and that most of the remainder give evident signs that conscience has begun its work in them, and is pressing the inquiry, whether it can be innocent to deal, " for filthy lucre's sake," in that which kills the body and the soul. The power of total abstinence is further seen in the fact, that the proportion of travellers in our steam-boats and stages, who now drink spirits, is not one-fourth so great as it was a few years since. But where shall we stop in the history of the good effects of the temperance reformation? Its beneficence tells every where among us : in the fresh vigor and economy it has infused into every department of industry ; in its moderating the extravagance of the fashionable and the rich, and simplifying their habits of living ; and in its substituting, in rum-debased families, among the humble and the poor, cleanliness, and comfort, and peace, for squalidness, and want, and contention. Happy, thrice happy, are the influences of this " angel of health " upon the mind and the moral affections. How many, who before were heedless and giddy, owe to these influences their present character for sedateness and usefulness ! How many hearts, before callous and closed, have been softened and unlocked by these influences, and are now admitting the appeals that come up to them from the needy and wretched ; and are admitting too the pure, peaceful, holy and saving instructions of the word of God ! What vast numbers of our young men has the temperance reformation enlisted into the ranks of benevolence ; not to serve the cause of temperance only ; but, as almost necessarily follows, to go on alleviating human wretchedness in other forms, beside that one to which the reformation attracted their attention !

Nor can we forbear to mention another of the fruits of reformation.—Though its object was to *prevent* not to *cure* drunkenness, yet thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, are indebted to it for their recovery from a bondage, compared with which the chains upon the poor African are perfect liberty ; for the drunkard's bondage is that of the mind, and “the iron has entered his soul.” Formerly the condition of the drunkard was hopeless ; for, under the universal custom of drinking spirits, turn whatsoever way he would, he was met by irresistible solicitations to his master appetite ; and his dearest friends, and those with whom he had the most familiar intercourse were unwittingly made, by their use of spirits, his most fatal snare. But there are still hundreds of thousands of drunkards in our land ; and where in all the wide earth shall we look for more pitiable beings ? If rum has not transformed their bodies so far as the potions of Circe transformed the bodies of the men of Ulysses, yet it has equalled those potions in debasing and brutalizing the spirit. Temperate drinkers ! it rests with you to determine, whether these wretches shall be restored ; restored to themselves ; to their families ; to their country ; to the hopes of heaven. Give up your temperate drinking, and they are so restored ; for, in an atmosphere of total abstinence they can be brought to life. But, if you continue to drink spirits, they will ; for they cannot unbind themselves from the power of your example. They must perish in that case, because you will let them,—will make them perish. We beseech you, temperate drinkers, not to continue indifferent to this numerous and wretched class of your fellow-men. We beseech you still more earnestly not to oppose and sneer at the only means of rescuing these victims of intemperance from their indescribable woes ; for there are some temperate drinkers, who are wont to be even thus cruel,—and that too, notwithstanding they may have among these victims a besotted father, or son, or brother, who are perishing for the safety, which the temperance reformation alone provides for them. How many more of these wretches would probably have long since attained to this safety, had it not been for the indifference and opposition of temperate drinkers to the cause of temperance, and for their thoughtless and inconsiderate ridicule of it !

Most of the work is still undone.

Much as has been achieved under the temperance reformation, far more remains to be done. There is a very common, but equally mistaken as common, notion, that the work in which we are engaged is done ; or at least so far advanced, that its completion must necessarily follow. But instead of exulting in the idea that the work is done, we have much more reason to fear, that

what has been done in it will be lost, and lost too, in a great measure, by this same common and mistaken impression, that our cause has passed through its dangers, and is now safe. The price of temperance, the price of our great cause, like the price of liberty, is unceasing vigilance, unremitting activity for its promotion; and it is already found, that in many places in our country, where that vigilance is nodding and that activity is relaxed, there the cause of temperance has begun to retrograde, and drunkards and their only-one-stairs-above neighbors, the temperate drinkers, are again beginning to multiply.

A very great advantage, which our first efforts under the temperance reformation had, is now spent. We mean the charm of novelty. The public mind has been so much handled with this subject, that it has lost much of its sensibility to it; and temperance is becoming to very many an old and uninteresting topic; uninteresting, not because its intrinsic importance has at all abated, but simply because it has become old, and has by the frequency of its appeals hardened, where it has not subdued.

The cause of temperance, like any other virtuous cause in this depraved world, has to contend against strong currents in the natural dispositions and selfish interests of men; and it will no more go of itself than water will run up hill. Our contest with rum is still very doubtful. The vice of intemperance is intrenched in strong, fearfully strong interests, and it will require the most persevering concert of all its foes to dislodge it. Look at the maker and vender of spirits. How directly is their occupation interested in having intemperance go on, rapidly multiplying its victims! Look at the village demagogue. Take away rum from the field of his influence, deprive him of the aid of the distillery, the bar-room and the grocery, and you deprive him of his dearest hopes. It is rum, which opens the ears of his admiring listeners to his sage instructions, and melts their hearts to his patriotic appeals. Look at the race-course,—at the lottery, —at the gaming-table,—at the theatre,—and particularly at that “house,” which “is the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death,”—and see how essential to all these is the inspiration of rum!—When we consider that rum is the great animating principle of almost all our public and of not a few of our private vices; and that all of them would languish, and not a few of them expire without it; when we consider that rum is by far the most successful device of Satan for inflaming and strengthening the corrupt passions of men,—how can we hope for a speedy and easy conquest over it? So far from its being speedy and easy, we must have much help to be able to achieve it at

all : and in the name of our country,—in the name of humanity,—in the name of God, we call for this help on all who love their country,—on all, who love their fellow-men,—on all, who love their Maker. Let each individual do his duty to our cause, and it is safe ; and then our beloved land will be cleansed of the pollutions of this vice ; and the fires of this Moloch, through which a custom, more cruel than the Suttee, has hitherto compelled our children to pass, will be extinguished ; and then the people of these United States will be (most joyful thought !) a *sober* people.

ART. VIII.—*Nullification.*

1. *Correspondence between Governor Hamilton and Vice President Calhoun, July and August, 1832.*
2. *Addresses and Reports of the Convention held at Columbia, S. C. in November, 1832.*
3. *An Ordinance to nullify certain Acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be Laws, laying Duties and Imposts on the Importation of foreign Commodities.*

The discontents on the subject of the Tariff, which have so long existed in several of the Southern States, and particularly in South Carolina, and to which we have, from time to time, adverted in this Journal, have at length reached a crisis. As soon as it was ascertained that the party in favor of Nullification had prevailed in that State at the late elections, the Governor immediately summoned an extraordinary session of the Legislature, which was held accordingly at Columbia, on the 22d of October. In calling together the new Legislature before the end of the current political year, as generally understood, the Governor exercised an authority, which may perhaps be fairly considered as doubtful, although it appears to have been sanctioned by the highest judicial authority of the State. This, however, is a secondary question, upon which we shall not enlarge. In the message which he transmitted to the Legislature at the opening of the extraordinary session, the Governor recommended to them to pass an act authorizing the meeting of a Convention, to deliberate upon the measures to be taken by the State for the purpose of obtaining relief from the operation of the Tariff. The act was accordingly passed